1: Honigmann\ E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

toward promiscuity, was reported to have been beaten "just like dog" by her mother, who 836
herself has a widespread reputation for past promiscuity. Parents, however, are often willing to condone some premarital sexual experience in older daughters if it avoids promiscuity and leads to marriage. There are few if any unmarried girls above seventeen who can be regarded as virgins or who conduct themselves in such a way as to discourage sexual advances.

Several factors are responsible for this hiatus between ideal and manifest. The first is 836
the delayed age of marriage in the contemporary society. In the past, when the ideals of 183
premarital morality were originally formulated, marriage for girls occurred within a year or two after menarche; now it is often postponed until eighteen or nineteen years of age. Secondly, the post-pubescent girl is often given considerable autonomy and independence, parents relaxing supervision in the face of the girl's demand for such freedom. In the past this relaxation of control would have been correlated with the young woman's adult status and channelized in marriage. If supervision is maintained into late adolescence it is resented by the girl; sexual promiscuity may then be a means of expressing revolt and independence. Finally, most of the parents of adolescents were themselves raised under social conditions *similar to those obtaining today*, and a *great* number have borne children out of wedlock. These facts are known to girls, and probably help to undermine parental sanctions.

Despite the fact that premarital promiscuity is disapproved of, girls who manifest such 836
behavior are not ostracized or avoided by other members of the society. In 1944, when a number of girls were almost nightly accepting truck rides with soldiers, one or two older men sought to remonstrate with some of these young women. The girls resented this interference, one telling Old Man that her activities were none of his business. Another girl, June Barre, accused him of having done the same things in his youth. River Joe often criticized his brother's daughter, Irene Wiley, for her promiscuity, and unsuccessfully advised her to marry. To the ethnographer Joe complained of this girl who, refusing marriage, nevertheless would not live alone. "Maybe she look for husband, but don't think so," he said. "Anyway, none of my business." Despite his criticism of Irene's behavior, River Joe never refused to feed or shelter the girl and often expressed concern about her poor appetite.

Two types of extramarital sexual relations may be distinguished in Kaska society, 837 ●
adultery and permissive sexual relations. Unfaithfulness in marriage is probably more common among men than women, since married women only rarely have an opportunity of meeting lovers under suitable conditions of privacy. Adultery is condemned when it occurs in either spouse and frequently leads to quarrels. It is also reported to be not uncommon for a man to beat an adulterous wife, although aggression between a husband and wife's lover is rare and apparently avoided. A woman who sleeps with a married man fears the jealousy and hate of the wife and dreads provoking the latter to physical violence. In general unmarried girls tend to avoid the sexual overtures of married men. Children born from a wife's [85]
adulterous relationship are frequently rejected by the husband.[9]

Permissive extramarital sexual relations are unformalized and any evidence of such behavior is carefully guarded, particularly from white people. Wife exchange is sometimes reciprocally arranged between two married men who are good friends or partners. In such

[9] See below, p. 177.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

837 cases the wife is informed of the husband's decision. According to Nitla: "She can't say no. I'm her boss." He added: "No matter if friends, and you give her kids. So long you not sick." However questionable such ideal control of the husband may be, the fact is that a wife will often be fully willing to act as a partner in such an arrangement, because she herself desires the husband's friend and finds any other means of gratifying her desire difficult. She may even add her insistence for such an exchange to her husband's, in the event that the other partner remains aloof from the proposal. A rare variant of this pattern is for an unmarried man to supply his married friend with an unmarried girl in exchange for sexual access to the latter's wife. Frequently extramarital sexual exchanges are arranged under condition of intoxication. Wife lending also occurs to oblige a man who is away from his wife.

548 Evidence of the direct sale of sexual favors was noted in only one young woman during the period when American troops and construction workers were crowding Lower Post. Although other promiscuous girls undoubtedly received money and gifts of cigarettes, candy, and lighters from soldiers, the motive behind their behavior does not appear to have been primarily pecuniary. Most girls were willing to exchange sexual access for truck rides and the stimulation of erotic situations. Local white trappers also make efforts to secure Indian girls as temporary sexual partners and in return generally give them money. Since no girl relies to any extent on such financial remuneration, a pattern of prostitution may be questioned and other motives inferred. Such motives include a desire for sexual interaction and a reluctance to offend persistent white men.

835 Incest is regarded with abhorrence and there is a tendency to classify as incestuous any sexual relationship between relatives (other than the paternal male and maternal female cross-cousins) closer than third cousins and between members of the same moiety. Not only would discovery of an incestuous relationship arouse strong public opinion, but such behavior is thought to lead to insanity in the guilty couple and deformity in the offspring.

839 The only forms of atypical sexual relations known to occur in Kaska society are rape and [838] manifest homosexuality. Since premarital sexual intercourse is often carried out in a manner suggesting rape, particular attention was paid to the definition of this form of behavior. Informants agreed that pursuing a girl in order to win sexual access to her is not necessarily rape. They pointed out that rape can occur only when a girl unmistakably resents a man's attention and fights him for her freedom. One is still left unclear as to how much struggle is required to demarcate the typical from the atypical. Field notes contain several incidents in which from two to six youths were observed dragging girls into bushes or vacant houses. On one occasion June Barre, the youngest promiscuous girl in the community, requested the company of the ethnographer's wife en route to a dance. She was asked if she ran from boys in order to tease them or because she was afraid, and replied that she ran because she was frightened. Yet the ethnographer's wife once interrupted a situation in which three older youths were struggling with June. The boys ran off but the girl, instead of retaining her safety, quickly went into the night alone. Obviously the ambivalence which girls seem to manifest in sexual situations makes it difficult to recognize rape. The fact that girls traveling at night are often accompanied by partners helps somewhat in making a distinction. When such girls accede to sexual demands expressed through teasing and pursuit, they separate

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

157 X 181 831

prevalence of premarital sexual promiscuity as well as the high incidence of extramarital adultery?

Sexual promiscuity in adolescence represents a complexly determined phenomenon, all of whose keys we cannot pretend to locate. Focusing on the motivational aspects of this behavior, with only a passing nod to the awakening glandular processes and the lack of manifest controls imposed on the behavior of adolescents, we can point to this period (when drinking also begins) as providing youth with one of the first opportunities since early childhood to experience release of emotional isolation. Promiscuity is more specifically explicable as affording the egocentric component of the girl's personality an opportunity to express itself in a revolt against her parentally enforced, passive, serving role. At this age too the boy's general self-assertion begins to be important in hunting and trapping, also embracing his awakening genitality; promiscuity means for him chances to prove himself and acquire further prestige. The biologically derived anxieties of sexual failing probably reinforce his drive to succeed in non-sexual fields, while failure in these spheres in turn intensifies potency anxiety. Finally, promiscuity offers a chance to satisfy affect hunger without involving either sex in too close or intricate emotional bonds—safety lying in the number and variety of partners. Richard Day indicates this in his complaint of having found the effects of being in love so unpleasant that he would not want to risk the state again. He explained that love arises after copulating with the same girl several times and admitted that he avoids persistent intercourse with the same partner.[88]

157 X 181 ● 837

In marriage, promiscuity *is* probably often a flight from the anxiety aroused by too intense interpersonal relations between two people. The ambivalence with which the spouses enter marriage foreshadows the insecurity which develops when infatuation wears off and emotional isolation begins to be threatened by the dependence promoted through living together. In view of the Indians' moderate ego tonicity, it may be expected that marriage will also cause a man to feel the pressure of economic responsibilities. A husband who tries to allay this anxiety by too great reliance on his wife invites fresh anxiety from the ensuing conflict between egocentric and dependency motives. Extramarital promiscuity and divorce are attempts to substitute transitory and unthreatening sexual experiences for oppressive marriage relations.

157 X 181 838

We now come to the expression of sexual constriction in homosexuality. Again it must be emphasized that it is not our intention to explain this tendency fully but only to throw light on some of its motivational foundations. Furthermore, we do not intend to discuss overt homosexual behaviors. Mutual masturbation probably grows out of close interpersonal association but we had no opportunity to study its psychological results. We can

[88] There is little doubt that sexual promiscuity is conditioned by the social climate in which it occurs, i.e., that it is structurally related to other aspects of culture. Recent papers have begun to study this problem, from the standpoint of personality in western culture but the results must be interpreted cautiously in view of the fact that the subjects of investigation comprise a selected sample of promiscuous men, namely those who contracted venereal disease. See Witthower and Cowan, *Some Psychological Aspects of Sexual Promiscuity* (1944), and Watts and Wilson, *A Study of Personality Factors among Venereal Disease Patients* (1943). It has also been pointed out that female promiscuity may be a product of poor emotional adjustment and latent homosexuality. See Dupouy and Picard, *Une hystérique nubilale* (1928).

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

Dorothy does not reveal her emotions readily, always maintaining a placid, smiling, and rather pleasing exterior. Once, when she was very drunk and being teased about her love for a young, blonde, American soldier, who was currently associating with Flower Joe, she solemnly agreed to the truth of this allegation and even expressed some fondness for the boy. Later, when she was sober, we had occasion to observe her in the presence of this soldier and Flower. Not by a word or gesture did she reveal either love or jealousy. Apparently Dorothy has strong determination, because she refused to accompany her former lover on any rides once he began to sleep with Flower. Even though the boy sometimes paid considerable attention to her, she refused to yield. Until Flower arrived, Dorothy had been the belle of the town with the American troops. Flower quickly supplanted her. Although Dorothy never showed too strong evidence of her feelings, it was now that she began to spread rumors of Flower's sexual disease and would not be convinced that she might be wrong. The evidence suggests that Dorothy was secretly very jealous of her rival.

One evening in late summer Dorothy said that, if Lou sold his trap line she would go to Dease Lake for the winter. She claimed that she liked life on the trap line. This statement seems to have been inspired by the ideal pattern that one is supposed to like the trap line. Actually, most women do, but it is doubtful if Dorothy cares for either the isolation or the work. That evening she took her first ride with soldiers in several weeks, Lower Post having for some time been out of bounds. Later that evening she told another woman that she would stay in Lower Post all winter. The truth probably is, that Dorothy was disgusted with Lower Post because of the dearth of soldiers. The withdrawal of troops also promised to make for a dull winter. She therefore wanted to visit her family at Dease Lake. When things momentarily picked up, she became reconciled to staying. It was shortly after this that she became the white man's mistress.

Although Dorothy is strongly attached to David, she gives little evidence of being very maternal. She even said that she didn't want any more children. During the summer, a consistent practice was to put David to bed early, so that she could be free to go out for the evening. One evening we heard David crying. We went into the store, where Dorothy was sitting in the blonde soldier's arms, and told her that the boy was awake. "He'll go to sleep again," she replied. "If I go in, he'll be worse." Her husband was very ill at the time and could do little for the child. Her treatment of David was outstanding in that she gave him more "don'ts" than is usual in the community. On the whole, however, her discipline was extremely mild and she easily yielded to the child's demands. Once she told her maternal uncle, Dick, to take the scissors away from David. Her own request for the instrument failed to produce results.

When we returned to Lower Post in June 1945, we found Dorothy alternating between two men. A few weeks previously she had borne her lover's son and now both men were assisting in the housework while the mother recovered. She showed considerable affection for the new baby, insisted that it never be left alone and often imposing its care on either of the two men. Twice she went to a dance and was followed by her lover who, obviously jealous of her absence, informed her that the baby was crying. One night she was loitering with other young people, when this man angrily burst out with the news that the baby was crying. He commanded Dorothy to stop her disrespectful behavior and to get where she belonged. Without a word Dorothy followed him. Although there is evidence that this man loved her deeply, absolutely nothing indicates her feelings toward him. Her position, however, benefited her in many ways. Whereas her husband was ill and had sold his trap line, the second man was somewhat younger and held a good job. He spent money lavishly on the

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

159 337 girl and she proudly demonstrated her large wardrobe of dresses and coats, also changing her costume two or more times a day.

159 787 The situation was not conducive to securing intimate personality data, but three dreams were collected in late July. These are given below.

> She dreamed that she had left the new baby at her foster father's cabin in Lou's care. Then she heard that the baby was without food and freezing. With her brother, Dell, she ran to save the infant. She woke up relieved to discover it was summertime and that there was no frost.
>
> She dreamed that David was drowning in the Liard River. Her mother was looking on but made no move to save him. Later, however, her mother rescued the child.
>
> She was walking along with Lou Monroe and her lover, together with the new infant. A bearded white trapper came along and attacked the lover, trying to choke him. Dorothy gave the baby to someone—it seemed like Alice Nolan—and tried to help her lover. In her associations, Dorothy went on to explain that her father's dreams always come true and her mother's frequently. Her dreams also often materialize.

Three vectors of hostility are revealed in these dreams. In the first, Dorothy's hostility is directed primarily outward, toward Lou, who is probably an inconvenient adjunct in her new affair. She visualizes Lou's resentment of her lover's baby, at the same time deviously expressing her own aggression toward the infant. The significance of the brother is not clear, but his appearance in the dream probably represents the strong bonds between these two siblings. A similar function may be inferred from the fact that the dream takes place at her foster father's cabin; a father attachment thereby being indicated. In the second dream, the hostility is dramatically directed toward David, with the expectation that her mother will save the child. Here there is a wish for the grandmother to assume the child's care, in other words, an expression of Dorothy's emotional rejection of the boy. The third dream pictures the polyandrous ménage, complete except for David, who has apparently already been disposed of. Hostility is now indirectly released against her lover, but is ambivalent. Dorothy tries to help her lover while the baby is given to an exceedingly tender, maternal figure. The wish-fulfillment element is clearly stressed in Dorothy's association to dreams that have come true. The total sequence of dreams therefore indicates the girl's confusion in her current situation and her ambivalent desire to escape from it and assume her independence. They reflect the anxiety connected with the role she is playing, her self-consciousness, her fear of public criticism, and uncertainty.

159 Certainly Dorothy has cause for uncertainty. She is widely disliked by many people, and only her affected indifference to criticism and public opinion, together with her persistent lying to save face, protect her from manifesting the anxiety attached to her position. Unfortunately we have only meager data for discovering how she came to be the person that she is.

Probably one of the most important influences in her life was her identification with her foster father, a strong, self-willed Tahltan Indian, who manifests the same pride in his own status that Dorothy affects. Dorothy is intensely proud of her Tahltan heritage and fond of talking about the stimulation to be found in Telegraph Creek. This pride in status, it must be pointed out, is a familiar trait of Tahltan men and some Tahltan women, but is notably lacking in Kaska individuals. Even dominant Kaska men are not proud or preten-

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

tions. In this, therefore, Dorothy's personality reflects Tahltan influence. From her foster father the girl acquired the self-assertion which helped her, the family's eldest daughter, to assume many male roles and to fulfill them more adequately than her next youngest brother. It is also from her foster father that she derived the boastfulness which, for example, she scarcely attempted to conceal in speaking about her brother's and uncle's timidity.

The incentive to develop strong father ties came from the early emotional rejection of her mother. Such rejection is indicated in the story of being sent to live with her grandmother and aunt. The throat constriction, from which Dorothy suffered as a child, and the attendant eating difficulties may be symptoms related to this period of childhood. If the close connection between oral activities and the security associated with the mother's breast is assumed, the frustration of security seeking tendencies and the concomitant anxiety may well transfer to acts symbolic of this primary mother-child relationship. In a psychosomatic inability to swallow, the tense child may then be expressing the longing for a gratification which he has come to fear.[1] Dorothy's intense preoccupation with the grizzly bear, already identified as a parent symbol, is also significant in this respect.

Dorothy's promiscuity is of long standing. It serves as an expression of the egocentric component of her personality and is therefore a vehicle for masculine striving. The choice of very much older white men (the policeman, Lou Monroe, and the white man in Lower Post) for sex objects suggests that in these cases sexual relations provide an opportunity to act out the oedipal identification with her foster father; these men are father images, in whom Dorothy is forced to invest an unconscious dependence which is antithetical to her egocentric wishes. Whether she was really in love with the blonde soldier, or if her expression of fondness was conditioned by jealousy for the more popular Flower, is difficult to answer. From what we know of her self-centeredness, jealousy arising from being preferred to a rival could be a critical experience, because it would threaten her personal image, in which so much energy has been invested and through which she realizes her goal of resourcefulness. Her personality is not equipped to love. Her whole career demonstrates her capacity to use people for her own ends. Her marriages and liaisons with white men have been profitable, each attachment advancing her material status, contributing to her role. The fact that ideals of status progression, so well served by white men, were originally derived from her boastful and narcissistic Tahltan foster father is further evidence for the interpretation that Dorothy's compulsive sexual behavior is closely related to her oedipal situation.

Dorothy's behavior, therefore, can be understood in terms of strong egocentricity and unrelated masculine striving derived from identification with her foster father. That this man happened to be Tahltan, and therefore distinguished in personality, is accidental, but served to give her personality a color different from that expected in her community. From him she learned to direct her egocentricity into very un-Kaska-like pretence and display. Narcissism became one of the defenses against emotional isolation and dependence. To realize her status ambition, however, she was compulsively forced into dependence on father images for her enduring relationships. In this way her affect hunger and dependency strivings found expression. The role she played was never wholly congenial. She constantly re-

[1] See Fenichel, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis* (1945), 199-196.

2: Teit E-5 (1912-1915) 1917
ND12 Nahane ND12

outside the camp except the driving snow. The war-party crept up in the storm, and the woman ran out and joined them. They attacked and killed all the people. The only one who escaped was the man who had gone hunting.

When they returned to the camp near where they had cached their canoes, they found that the two old women and the girl had changed into mice. They set out on their return journey on the lake, and came to the place where sky and water met. They found that the sky had frozen to the water, and that they were barred by what seemed a wall of ice. All the shamans and the animals tried to make a passage through, but without result. The Lynx jumped at the ice wall, trying to make a hole with his nose, and drove it back into his face. *This is why he has now such a short blunt nose.* At last Weasel made a hole and passed through; the next animal, a little bigger, enlarged the hole and went through; and thus they enlarged the hole, a bigger animal passing through each time. At last the moose went through, and then they took the canoes through.[1] The party then travelled back the way they had come, and reached home in safety.

Now the Mice women in Swan land travelled into the interior to find their people. The girl with the old women was sister to the man who had gone hunting and thus escaped death. They found his tracks and followed him; but he always kept ahead of them, and camped alone. They could not overtake him. The old women had a dog that could speak like a person. This dog always went forward to the hunter's camp, and brought back meat for the women and the girl. Thus they continued journeying until they reached a large camp of Swan people who were their friends. The hunter would not camp with them, however, because his sister (the Mouse girl) was pregnant, and he was ashamed. He had never had connection with her, so he was much ashamed when people said he was the father of his sister's child. He became so much ashamed that he committed suicide. (Here follows the child story, which I did not record.)

12. THE DESERTED WOMAN.[2]

A man and his wife were travelling with other people. The woman had a heavy load, and was following behind. She came to a hill where the people had slid down with their toboggans on the snow. Here she found a ball of fat which must have been lost from one of the toboggans. When she reached camp, she showed the fat to her husband. He became angry, and accused her of having a sweetheart, which she denied. He said, "Your sweetheart must have paid you in

[1] See Teit, JAFL. 9 : 262.

[2] See Thompson (Tsim. JE 8 : 237). The Tsimshian have an analogous story of "The Deserted Woman."

2: Tsim E-9 (1912-1915) 1917
ND12 Nishaas ND12

[39 [33]] lot." (*This is why some married people are now suspicious of each other, and accuse each other of unfaithfulness without sufficient reason.*) In the morning the husband burned his wife's clothes and tools, the people extinguished the fires, and all of them deserted the place, leaving the woman to die of cold and starvation. Only her sister-in-law had pity on her, and told her she had left a little fire for her in one place.

As soon as the people were out of sight, the woman blew on the embers left by her sister-in-law, and made a small fire. Numbers of rabbits began to come to the deserted camp. She found some scraps of sinew at a place where the men had been making arrows. She made a snare with these, and caught a rabbit. She took the sinews of its legs and made another snare. Thus she continued catching and living on rabbits. She made needles and awls of their bones, thread of their sinews, and clothing and blankets of their skins. She took great care not to let the fire go out, as she had no axe or any tools for making fire. She collected whatever fire-wood she could find. She felt so snowblind, and could not go very far, for the snow was deep in that place.

At last March came, and spring was near. There was a hard, thick crust on the snow. One day she tapped on her knee, and said, "I wish some of you people would come this way!" She said this almost without thinking, as if in fun. Soon afterwards a moose ran past the camp, and a man on snowshoes in pursuit on the crust. Seeing the moose had passed near the camp, the man asked the woman how long since it has passed or how far ahead it was. She pointed out to him the branches of a tree still moving which it had touched in passing, and made a sign that it had just gone out of sight. The man went on, after telling her that his brother was following and would camp there that night. The brother came along, following the tracks, and, seeing the camp, left his blankets there with the woman. The first brother killed the moose, and that night both brothers returned to the woman's camp heavily laden with moose-meat. They cooked meat and gave some of it to the woman. During the course of the evening they asked the woman why she was alone, and why she wore only rabbit-skin clothing, and she told them all. They said, "When we return to our camp, we shall tell our mother." They told their mother, who said, "I am almost blind now, and I am very glad you have found this woman. She will be a wife for you, and will sew your clothes." They took the woman to wife, and she made for them fancy clothes of moose and caribou skin, embroidered richly with quill-work, and fashionable head-dresses. (*This is why men are now jealous of a good wife, who looks after them well and makes fancy clothes for them.*) She also made good clothes for herself. (*This is why men now like a woman who dresses neatly and well.*)

[32]

[illegible] women and her family. A husband did not challenge his wife's lover but a woman who knew of her husband's infidelity attacked the other woman both verbally and physically. Following such as the one describing a jealous husband cutting off an adulterous woman's leg below the thigh, highlighted the seriousness of the offense. Mention of a chastity belt crops up in an anecdote which the informant did not believe to be true. In reference a husband who goes to sea for a long period a ventilation hole between his wife's legs to prevent her from having sexual relations during his absence.

There was no punishment except that a native was not allowed to fight the enemy. He could, however, pack for the military expedition.

Violation of food and other prohibitions did not so much refer to the application of direct punishment for they fell in fear of magical retribution. Supernatural explanations following from culturally standardized premises frightened people from breaking these taboos, and hence exemplify a particular type of social pressure.[8] Fear of punishment by ghosts for injuries done to people in their lives also represents a sanctioned limiting condition.[9]

In summary we can say that socially approved punishment to pre-contact Kaska life consisted chiefly of unfavorable public opinion, ridicule, fines, and blood revenge. The latter two sanctions were reserved for offenses against life. Nobody explicitly accepted the power to impose punishment on behalf of the total community. Hence most social pressure was informal or individualized. It should be clear that negative pressure did not enforce the conformity to maintaining equilibrium in the social system. Fear, hunting, effort, the games, and social rituals undoubtedly played their parts in preserving harmonious social relations.

War represented group retaliation for offenses committed by alien strangers upon members of the community. Since military revenge in turn preserved the status for feud vengeance on the opposite side antagonisms between the Upper Liard Kaska and their neighbors tended to be chronic. The prevalent state of unfriendly relations is well illustrated in the discussion and feuds explicitly caused by any revenge. The Kaska and Tahltan vocabulary, with their terms based here indicating 'enemy' or 'hostile,' reflect these states of anxiety and hostility. Informants refused to regard the Kaska as aggressors but applied the term to Indians with whom the Kaska had little contact, that is, 'strange' Indians who raided people and stole horses. The term Kaska applied particularly to the Dene Indians, a word deriving from the root for 'one') who fell to the lot with little waiting for an opportunity to obtain women.

Fighting occurred between the Upper Liard Indians and the people of Frantz Lake (probably the Tahltan), Poly River, Dagoosmee, and, of course, the Dene Indians. Warfare with the Tahltan was headed by one man (1), who owned the prize to name the Kaska had traded with the Tahltan, so how could they have fought so intensely this explanation holds only for the relatively recent prehistoric period. It is not applicable to an earlier period, when the Tahltan were not yet established in the trade originating west of the

[8] Wilson, The problem of Social Change (1942), pp.43. For further information about prohibitions see below, pp. 106-110.

[9] See below, pp. 106-107.

6. Bloomington E-9 (1963-1965)1954 HD12 Release HD12
Upper Ward

furnished disguise because they prevented the enemy from recognizing the attackers. Painting the whole face with a mixture of charcoal, spruce gum, and grease turned the skin red.* After the fighting this paint was removed with the oil of grease. Black-eyed shields, designed to deflect arrows, consisted of two or three pieces of wood, each about three feet long and arrow together. Cotton layered the forward surface of the shield. In meeting off an arrow by this device the warrior spoke a one-word charm, "ak ("arrow")." Menstruation on the part of a man's wife did not prevent him from joining a fighting party but following his departure this woman was bound to avoid crossing the warrior's trail for danger to him. Prior to setting out on a raid abstained from coitus for four days. "If you stay with your wife you will be killed, you [illegible] yourself." * Water or women each member of a war expedition roughened himself by plunging into cold water.

After the men had departed the women left to camp constructed a number of human images, using robes and skins stuffed with brush. Human features were added with red paint. The [illegible] stood in the camp and each morning women attacked them with ceremonial wooden knives. The ritual gave additional strength to the warriors.* Women also girded themselves in fancy robes which [illegible] not be removed until the party had returned. Carrying the best provisions [illegible] to the fighters. The left undoubtedly symbolizes the chastity of the women during the husbands' absence.* [illegible] the same time the rite no doubt allayed the natural [illegible] of the men and allowed them to focus on the business at hand without distraction. It may well be that such [illegible] possessed indirect survival value.

The warfare revealed quickly. In advance were one or three young intelligent men about 20 years old. As night young men mounted guard around the camp, acting as sentries. The expedition camped in brush-headed barriers enclosed on three sides and sharing a common war wall. Usually two lines of such shelters faced each other and a fire burned in the space between. Warriors dared never be removed while sleeping for the women feared for life. To allow war made to remove the light of campfires. Frequently during the course of overnight distance [illegible] designed to prevent him escape from escaping or to break the monotony [illegible] when the latter sought to escape. In night the fighting party sang songs originally designed to weaken the enemy.

All military action took place on land. The Kaska did not fight from canoes, although the Tahltan had heard that the Tlingit fought from boats. Fighting started at once at

* The same means of disguise accompanied war among the Kaska (Teguan, Contributions to the Ethnography of the Kaska Indians, 1956, 8).

* Tlingit men returning to [illegible] gate, "were not allowed to eat or go to any women. The one standing at the height of [illegible] gate, 'Sometimes they did not see a woman for a year.'" Emerson, Social Customs, Beliefs and Folk-Lore Relationship of the Tlingit Indians (1896, 98).

* Tlingit warriors overthrough each morning before facing enemy. "All the men and their wives had early images." Emerson, Social Customs, Beliefs and Folk-Lore Relationship of the Tlingit Indians (1896, 98).

* While the warriors were away the leader's wife had to [illegible] and dress her hair [illegible] as she the husband on the expedition. . . ." Emerson, Social Customs, Beliefs and Folk-Lore Relationship of the Tlingit Indians, 1896, 98).

4: Homigmann E-9 (1943-1943)1994 HD12 Nelson HD12
Upper Ward

hair, and running his hand across her shoulders and body. Lovers did not bite. Various forms of endearment were current, a youth saying, for example, "You're my girl," to indicate his affection. Sibling terms of opposite sex commonly expressed the idea of "sweetheart" or "lover" but lovers also addressed each other as "brother-in-law" and "sister-in-law." Tumescence might be aided through manual contacts undertaken by a boy but a girl never touched a man's sexual organs. Oral contacts with the female genitals rarely took place, people regarding the women's sexual parts as poisonous. A man usually removed trousers but not breech cloth or necklace in sexual situations. The woman assumed a supine position on her back while the man lay over her, supporting part of his weight on the forearms. For a woman to lay astride a man demonstrated his lowering ability. Women disliked and never penetrated unless it was. On the average five minutes elapsed between lovemaking and ejaculation. The commonplace practice of a woman partially withdrawing at the moment of her partner's orgasm disconcerted the man and interfered with the strength of his climax. Women frequently bit during copulation, particularly at the moment of orgasm. Should a man finish before a woman, she might arise him from behind to force him to remain in her until she reached consummation. She did not generally wait for the partner to finish first but proceeded with coition at a pace to suit themselves. No hygienic measures followed the sex act. To secure for her lovers a man gave gifts to a partner other than a wife, presents that were procured by a companion who desired to show her affection. When they were presented to a married man such gifts often caused great embarrassment as the wife questioned their origin.

Many women in refusing sex relations apparently rationalized their aversion saying that they wanted to have grown successfully. Sometimes a married woman tried to reduce the frequency of coitus in order to avoid pregnancy and childbirth; one garbled evidence such conjunction from the husband. The incidence of impotence in the male world can be overestimated. "a man is ashamed to tell that."

One man denied wife exchange but ascribed the practice to the Tuluvas, among whom a woman was sometimes loaned to a brother or a friend. We are inclined to believe our informant in view of the fact that the contemporary Kadar are not adverse to wife exchange.[1] The same informant did admit that sometimes an old man who required a young man's assistance in hunting might invite a real or classificatory daughter to live with him, allowing the young man sexual access to his wife. The relationship, however, was generally planned as marriage.[2] Under conditions of polygyny a husband slept with a different sexual partner about once every two nights. "The youngest wife always wants to get more and the man has to try to give her plenty." Nevertheless a polygynous husband remained careful not to neglect the older women. When fraternal polyandry was practiced, the ancillary husband enjoyed access to a wife only during the absence of the first husband. A woman reported her husband's brother's attentions to the senior husband when the latter returned.

In one reported case of homosexuality a man, disinclined to heterosexual relations,

[1] Hodgkinson, Culture and Man of Kadar Hunter (1948), 101-102.
[2] For additional information concerning fraternal polyandry see below, pp. 140, 145.